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further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy.

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

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The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing.

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so